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THE WORLD TOMORROW

The Present Shape of Things

NORMAN THOMAS

Editorials:

Bridgeport's Victory—a Portent?

The German Church and the Nazis

The Tempo of America

Farmers Confront City Radicals

PAUL E. PFUETZE

Christian Social Action

GEORGE A. COE

NOVEMBER 23rd

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Ex Cathedra

AMBASSADOR LITVINOFF arrived and explained that the two great republics, the American and the Russian, had "common peace policies," and that agreement between them "brought hopes to the friends of peace and fears to the adversaries of peace." Since the official Communist doctrine is that all capitalist nations are equally enemies of peace, the statement of Litvinoff may be regarded as the inevitable change which the necessities of statecraft make upon the sentiments of revolutionary statesmen. Litvinoff is for the moment not a Communist revolutionist, but a Russian statesman, interested in establishing contact between "two great nations." Perhaps doctrinaire internationalists could learn something from all this. Perhaps every revolutionary internationalism is run into a national mold more inevitably than it imagines. If that lesson were properly learned, the radical could dispense with some elements in his internationalism which are a hindrance to his real business. We wonder when Litvinoff will receive Earl Browder, of the American Communist Party. It will probably be a very, very secret meeting.

"BRITAIN denounces her tariff truce to take effect on December 7th." That is for the purpose of protecting her markets against cheap American goods. Insofar as the depreciation of the American currency is for the purpose of gaining an advantage in the foreign market, it has the usual consequences: reprisals and further defensive tariffs. Thus economic nationalism continues to create economic nationalism.

DR. LEY, in making an appeal to the German workers to support their government in the recent election, declared: "The election is to establish the honor of Germany. With honor German workers are workers; without honor workers are slaves." There are probably a few cynical German workers who are not sure that the magic of a word can establish a difference between work and slavery.

THE Socialist Party has won a real victory in Bridgeport, Connecticut. The difficulties of putting socialism into practice in municipal government while surrounded by a capitalistic national economy have been fully revealed in Milwaukee. We are not certain that the Mayor-elect of Bridgeport is fully cognizant of these difficulties. The satisfaction he took in the good-will of some of the big industrialists of Bridgeport who congratulated him on his election and the prospects of a graftless city government does not augur too well for a rigorous socialism. A Socialist government might possibly lower expenses through the elimination of graft, but if that should lead to lower taxes it would mean that the Socialist administration is not up to its job. There are too many jobless poor in Bridgeport and every other industrial center to make "lower taxes" a legitimate Socialist slogan.

MAYOR O'BRIEN has revealed an old motif in politics. He has proved that if you are thoroughly and completely inept you may arouse a sense of the pathetic and gain pity even if the system you represent is vicious rather than pathetic. "The poor old dear," said a woman when the returns came in and showed that the Mayor was badly beaten. A simpleton in politics gains the pity of the multitudes, while a slick faker like McKee has no consolations in his defeat. Though it is of no particular importance, we rejoice in the recent discomfiture of Mr. Roosevelt's Warwick, Jim Farley. The New York election was for him a kick in the pants, if that inelegant phrase will be permitted in this respectable company.

THE noise being made by our Western farmers ought to remind city radicals that it is time for socialism to come to better terms with the farm problem. No radical political program which fails to unite urban and agrarian radicalism—difficult as that task is—can hope to succeed in this country.

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THE
WORLD TOMORROW

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Bridgeport's Victory—a Portent?

They are fawning on him now; but when Jasper McLevy first chose to battle for socialism in his native city instead of riding to personal power through the machines of the Republican and Democratic parties, he was hardly popular. It would be too much to say that they hated him; for as a matter of fact, outside of a few unscrupulous political adversaries, even those who thought him a visionary zealot respected if they did not love him, for his integrity and courage. He has become overnight a national figure, hounded by reporters, and will soon be built up, after the style of the press, as a salty personality of uncouth speech and homely dress, parading unshaven through a maze of complicated problems—a capitalist editor's dream of a successful Socialist.

Behind this legendary picture is indeed, however, a cool, courteous, terribly busy Scotsman, who can dress tastefully and well when he wants to take the time, but who prefers simplicity and hates as the very evil one all sorts of sham and show. The real comradeship of Bridgeport's new Mayor is revealed less by press exaggerations than by the fact that after his victory he entertained newspapermen with sandwiches and coffee in his *kitchen,* and while engaged in outlining his reactions to the landslide had to hold up proceedings to attend cheerfully to a neighbor's boy who stuck his head in the back door and asked—at that sublime moment—for the loan of a loaf of bread!

We do not desire to add superficially to the chorus of panegyrics that have been sent skyward by the very newspapers which, up to election day, were giving the Socialists scant space and practically no editorial support. But no sound grasp of what happened in Bridgeport can be given without beginning with Jasper McLevy in person. For it was his rugged forthrightness, his dogged perseverance, his remorseless insistence on detail, his amazing capacity for work, his pleasant approachability, which, more than any other single factor, built up in Bridgeport a respect for Socialists and —of central importance—a party organization that penetrated the entire municipality. For more than twenty years McLevy campaigned for office in Bridgeport, battering away at inertia and disbelief from street corners and in barren halls. Minor offices only fell to the Party; but when, in 1931, McLevy reduced the Republican Party to a poor third and almost beat the Democrat, a Socialist alderman, Fred Schwarzkopf, was elected. Schwarzkopf, young and unassuming, nevertheless attracted immediate public favor by his fight against graft, waste, and the spoils system, about the only issues a lone Socialist could work on with effect.

The 1933 campaign fought by McLevy and his associates was skillfully handled. Arnold E. Freese, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, went to Bridgeport and worked day and night, despite a recent operation, without stint; other Socialists in the state came into Bridgeport and gave what aid they could. But the Democrats and Republicans helped the Socialist cause considerably. Schwarz, Republican, presented about as dull and unimaginative a candidate as could anywhere be found; Dunn, the Democrat, aroused resentment against his ticket by one of the foulest and most completely vicious, degrading campaigns ever waged in American politics. To every accusation levelled against him, McLevy responded with unfailing humor and an irony that bit deep. His record was unassailable as a faithful leader in the labor cause, a fighter for social legislation. When the Democrats sought to arouse Catholic voters by the old warning cries against socialism, McLevy disdained to reply, while Catholics came freely and volunteered their services against the corruption of the Democratic machine. Just before the election, the local papers carried huge advertisements inserted by the Democrats, foretelling doom for the town if socialism should win. Nasty lies about Reading; deliberate misrepresentation of Milwaukee; pictures of closed factories; charges that socialism would abolish the family; efforts to link as one the movements for socialism, communism, anarchism, and the I. W. W.; all these, *ad nauseam,* were used in a desperate attempt to stampede the electorate. But the voters came out and gave McLevy a plurality of more than 6,000, sweeping into office a Socialist city clerk, town clerk, city treasurer, member of the school board, numerous minor officials, and a dozen councilmen. By the terms of the new charter the councilmen now outnumbering the Socialists will retire in one year, leaving the Socialist Party with twelve out of sixteen seats.

The question may appropriately be raised, and should be unhesitatingly faced, as to whether the vote was or was not a vote for thoroughgoing socialism. McLevy has been under fire from radicals in the party for his moderation. That he is a conservative Socialist goes without saying. That he is gifted as a com-

promiser and is disloyal to socialism is a gross untruth. The whole problem of municipal socialism is a vexing one; for while there is certain to be a loss of prestige should Socialists refuse to govern cities when possible, it is equally obvious that until State and Federal governments are Socialist, no city administration can hope to bring in genuine socialism. This fact seems to have escaped some of the critics. Bridgeport's platform lined itself up officially with that of the national party, and sincerely so; it is true, however, that the emphasis in the campaign was often laid on minor matters of clean government, and that a crusade to make Bridgeport a Socialist city so far as possible, would require further education of the voters. Bridgeport Socialists will need to guard against an infinite series of temptations; for while their honor and administrative capability are not to be doubted, the task of creating a will toward complete municipal socialization is gargantuan.

Time may reveal weaknesses here and there, but we venture to believe that Bridgeport may lead the way for socialism in America. The new city administration needs now, more than anything, loyal support from all over the country; sympathy and tolerance for the inevitable trivial errors; and an opportunity quietly to undertake a constructive work of profound import to socialism in America. Already, Bridgeport has given the lie to every cynic, shamed every perennial pessimist, and offered food for thought to those who have been saying that under the "label" of socialism, victory in the United States could never be achieved.

The German Election

The German election, in which over forty million voted to support the Government's foreign policy and only two million voted against it, is subject to various interpretations. The fact that two million German citizens had the temerity to vote "no" when such a vote involved a considerable risk of detection and could not possibly affect the government's policy is a rather remarkable proof of the tenacious opposition to the Nazis which still exists in spite of all tne terror and propaganda. On the other hand, it is probably true that no German government has ever taken a more popular step in recent years than Hitler's withdrawal from the disarmament conference and the League of Nations. The popularity of this move does not account for all the forty million favorable votes, but it accounts for many of them. It is rather pathetic that the liberal statesmen who ruled Germany should have left it to Hitler to express the logic of the situation and to satisfy a natural German reaction to the hypocrisy of the Allies by this step. After all, it is hardly dignified for a nation to participate in a conference in which victorious foes are still contriving to preserve the fruits of their victory. Here is a case where liberalism does not see the facts as clearly as does the "Realpolitiker".

Naturally the withdrawal of Hitler from all international conferences may increase the possibilities of war, but we are not among those who regard this as inevitable. However much we may abhor Hitlerism, it would be well if peace-lovers practiced a little more restraint in pouring their maledictions upon Hitler's foreign policy. Since it grows naturally out of the measureless hypocrisies of the Versailles Treaty, a generous recognition of the historical roots of the present situation would ultimately make for peace.

Hitlerism Conquers Austria

Although the German Fascists have been resisted by the Austrian Chancellor, Dollfuss, and have been thwarted in their ambition to add Austria to Germany as a restored province, for all practical purposes they might have taken it long since. For while he has been seeking outside aid to defend the Austrian Republic, Dollfuss has been selling out every last pretense of liberalism to his cohorts of reaction, Starhemberg and Fey. Thus the new Austrian army, recruited by express permission of the former Allied powers in violation of the Treaty of Saint Germain, is being established fully as much to flog into submission the internal dissenters as to protect the border from Nazi incursions. No one really observant could have expected anything else, so far as Dollfuss's own temper and ambitions were concerned; but there was reason to hope, until recently, that out of deference to French and British opinion, essential if loans were to be secured, the reactionary beliefs of the Heimwehr and of Dollfuss himself might be held in check.

But this has not followed the dramatic campaign of Dollfuss last summer to rally world opinion to Austria's support. Instead, the first onslaughts against the constitution, which were tolerated by even the Social Democrats in their fear of Hitlerism—and let no critic minimize the nice balance on which this toleration had to be regulated—became translated into a deliberate crusade to wreck the constitution altogether. That task has long since been accomplished. But worse: not only have courts and the simplest elements of justice been smashed, but concentration camps were started in operation in mid-October, with a camp for Nazis at Möllersdorf and one for Socialists at Bruck. The death penalty has been instituted, and while Socialists were preparing celebrations in honor of the Austrian revolution, their ears were assailed by the clangor of hammers on the new scaffolds being made ready for the hangman in the center of Vienna. Across the street from the city hall, still technically held by the Socialists as the elected party, truly representative of Vienna's vast majority, a Heimwehr barracks has been erected.

The Austrian Social Democrats, while of sterner stuff than their German comrades, have found little more than futility at the end of their determined demonstrations. Long since having placed their faith

in their armed militia, and having thereby slowed up their industrial preparedness for a revolutionary strike in times of crisis, they have found that courage alone will not suffice. Never has there been, thus far, a more pathetic demonstration of what should by now be recognized by everyone as a profound social fact: that modern authority in control of a state wields so terrific a power that armed rebellion is completely futile, and that only the concentration of labor power, behind a fearless policy of non-violent non-coöperation, holds out promise of a radical victory. Where there is no middle class, and where modern industry and communications are lacking, as in Russia of 1917, it may still be feasible on grounds of expediency—leaving for the moment the question of principle aside—to precipitate a successful revolution by armed force. But not in most countries of the modern world. Labor power is the only hopeful means.

The German Church and the Nazis

In the hubbub of interest about political affairs in Germany it is well not to lose sight of the interesting struggle which is going on inside of the German church, where a fanatical group entitling themselves "German Christians" are trying to enforce the anti-Semitism of the state upon the church. On the whole they have succeeded. Nevertheless, there are some two to three thousand pastors who have banded themselves together to preserve the independence of the church. Ten days ago two of the leaders of this movement were dismissed from their parishes by the new bishop of Brandenburg, Hossenfelder, one of the most rabid of the German Christians. They were reinstated on Hitler's orders because the Chancellor feared the effect of their dismissal upon the elections, a fact which proves that the government is cognizant of the potential force of opposition in the church. A touch of irony is given to the reinstatement of the protesting preachers by the fact that it proves the very supremacy of the state over the church against which the pastors who were dismissed were protesting.

The Catholic church is equally a source of potential peril to the Nazi government. The new concordat is not working to the satisfaction of Rome. In fact Rome charges that it has never been put into practice. The Catholic church in Germany probably represents a more solid block of anti-Nazi sentiment than any other German institution. The old historic problem of the relation of church and state is being fought all over again in Germany. The events prove, as was the case after the French revolution, that if there is any vitality in the church at all no state, however powerful, can reduce it to complete subordination. The state may succeed in bringing three-fourths of the church under the heel of its power, but there will be a minority which will fight with the heroism of complete abandonment for the independence of the religious institution. This fact may not change the course of history in terms of politics and economics, but it does throw an interesting light on the facts of human nature and the character of religion.

The radicals usually insist that when the church defies the state it does so usually in the interest of a conservative political principle to which it gives prestige by its sanctities. That is frequently the case; but it is by no means absolutely true. No matter how badly a church may be involved with social conservatism as a whole, the minority which has the moral courage to defy the state is usually motivated by purer religious interests. It is questionable whether even in Russia the consistent persecution of the government will succeed in completely destroying the church, though the Russian church was more than ordinarily moribund. Radicals who regard religion merely as a manifestation of bourgeois life will refuse to admit the significance of these facts, but religious radicals will do well to ponder their relevance.

The Desire to Return to 1929

One of the most important factors in holding back the processes of recovery and preventing the American public from going on to build a brave new world is the deep-seated attempt on the part of enormous sections of our population to recover their status of 1929 and to hold on to the practices of the roaring twenties. This is evidenced by the general behavior of the banking fraternity, which shows no signs of contrition over the almost criminal practices of so many of its leaders. It is evidenced by the industrial magnates who would still like to gouge the public with high prices and deny organization to their workers. These gentlemen, by their bitter opposition to the NRA, would seem to prefer to go to their end unreformed rather than attain salvation through a modified and purified capitalism. It is evidenced by politicians, who seem as greedy as ever.

Nor are these all. Many of the unionists, such as those in the building trades, are still holding, as in a death-clutch, to unduly high wage-scales and to restrictive trade practices. These groups still seem resolved to maintain their old divisive craft unionism and to be unconcerned about the fate of the unskilled and semi-skilled. Many of them still look with favor upon agreements with employers as a means of enabling both groups to flourish at the expense of the consumers. Much, although of course not all, of the farm unrest comes indeed from the desire of the farmers to boost the prices for their products so high that their land will again be worth what it was in the speculative days of 1919 and 1920 and restore to them their former position as capitalists.

In short, as an old order crashes about us, the minds of most Americans are still turned towards the past and they are intent upon climbing back to the sup-

posed islands of safety which they fancied they once possessed. This is natural, but if prolonged it is likely to be disastrous. For there is abundant evidence that we neither should nor can return to the old era. The period of the twenties for all of its material progress was, after all, a shocking decade. For it was that era which brought forth as its chief deities Samuel Insull, Al Capone, Warren Harding, Texas Guinan, Calvin Coolidge, Charles E. Mitchell and Albert H. Wiggin. Furthermore, that period is dead, and even if we wished we could not bring it back. That riotous inflation of profits cannot be restored.

There is need for all classes and particularly for workers to turn their eyes to the future and help to build the new America. Only in a new society can the vast majority obtain the security and the opportunity to develop which was denied by the past society. But in order to push on to this new world we must drop the self-defeating attempts at obtaining competitive superiority over our fellows which constituted one of the chief characteristics of the twenties.

If You Were a Farmer

If you were one of the thousands of insolvent farmers in this country today, how would you feel, and what would you do? Let urban readers "put themselves in his place." Five years ago or so you borrowed an amount equivalent, say, to one half of the value of your farm at that time. Today you are threatened with foreclosure; which will mean the loss of your farm with all the improvements that you have put upon it. More than this, it will not only leave you no land but also no live stock, no implements, no cash with which to procure shelter for your family and no discoverable way to make a fresh start at anything. Why so? Because a debt that could be paid with one bushel of wheat at the time you procured your loan cannot be paid now with much less than three bushels. Your obligation has doubled and trebled, but your wheat has not. Indeed, drought may have robbed you even of your wheat. Do what you will you are caught in the jaws of this vise. Hard work and economizing make no difference; you are helpless as long as you rely upon your individual power. Why not combine, then, with others like yourself to prevent foreclosures and evictions? A mass of a hundred or two could prevent bidding, or it could do the bidding itself.

How comes it that the mortgage owner can claim three bushels whereas he loaned only the equivalent of one? It comes about through all the influences that have reduced the price of wheat. One of the influences is our fluctuating dollar; another is decrease in our export trade in grain. At the present moment you are exasperated by a government-induced rise in the cost of what you buy at the same time that the price of what you sell is falling. The government has again and again promised you relief, but here you are! Why shouldn't you farmers form a union of your own, withhold your crops from market until you receive cost of production for them, and by mass pressure, both economic and political, have a hand in deciding matters that heretofore have been decided for you with anything but advantage to yourselves?

Or, are you one of the milk producers who receive two cents a quart for milk that is sold in the cities for ten cents or more? The city people, combining against an increase of price, and the milk-handling corporations, taking advantage of the fact, squeeze the life out of you. You know that you are insolvent, and you see no way to escape utter ruin except to force a rise in the price to you as the producer. Why not combine with your neighbors, picket the roads, and prevent the delivery of milk until the consumers come to their senses?

The New Deal? The government has for years held out false hopes; why should you rely upon it now? The AAA? It's being run by men who have failed you in the past, and anyhow in the affections of the Administration it is second to the NRA, which is working against your interests. You have no alternative but to take affairs into your own hands.

Should you use violence? What would you think, you ask, of having your family violently evicted from your home after you have done your best and been defeated by your city fellows? Is that kind of violence all right? What would you think, you demand, of having a halter around your neck, and feeling it drawn tighter and tighter by the very people you're feeding by your labor? You don't want to hurt anybody, and you are not disposed to take advantage of anybody. It's the other fellows who are the trouble makers. You notice that when you prevent foreclosure sales and evictions and spill a little milk, we city people begin to sit up and take notice, and your attitude is: Don't think you can hog it any longer by your kind of violence!

In explaining why farmers easily turn to violence, it is not necessary to justify their action or to express any confidence in the adequacy of their program. It is imperative that the city radical, and especially the urban pacifist, understand clearly the state of mind now prevalent among insurgent farmers. To assume that revolutionary changes in the United States can be carried through by proletarians and other city-dwellers is to ignore all the realities of the situation. The fundamental clash in interests between producers and consumers of agricultural products, and the equally serious opposition between producers and consumers of manufactured products, will make coöperative action between urban and rural workers extremely difficult. But it is certain that significant advances cannot be made until both groups reach a deeper understanding of the basic problems with which they are confronted.

The Tempo of America

The repeal of national prohibition furnishes a vivid illustration of the speed with which social change occurs in the United States. There is no doubt whatever that in 1920 a heavy majority of the people of this country favored the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Proof of this fact is found in the record of votes cast in countless elections—municipal, county, state and national. To gain an idea as to the extent of prohibition prior to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment one has only to glance at a map showing the states in which the sale of liquor will become legal immediately after repeal has been completed. Such a map is before us as we write and reveals the fact that only 18 states will at once become legally wet. The other 30 states are still bound by state constitutional provisions or by state prohibition laws.

Yet within the brief span of 14 years the sentiment of this nation on prohibition has been changed so radically that it appeared for a moment that repeal would be voted unanimously by the states. It is not our purpose at this time to attempt an explanation of this reversal of public opinion, but rather to emphasize the swiftness with which America changes its mind. In passing we cannot refrain from predicting that the voters of the nation will not long be content with repeal. After various vain attempts at control they will again travel the road of prohibition—local, state and national.

But we set out to draw a moral concerning the speed of social change in this land. This characteristic of the American people possesses enormous significance for radicals bent upon social revolution. The fact that in 1929 socialism was regarded with a mixture of indifference, contempt, fear and alarm furnishes no basis for a judgment concerning the national attitude in 1939 or 1949. The history of woman suffrage furnishes convincing testimony as to the tempo of the American scene. For decades pioneer suffragists picked away at what appeared to be a stone wall of opposition, and then with amazing rapidity the very foundations of the opposition crumbled.

Another example is furnished by the income tax. In 1894 Congress passed a law levying a tax of two per cent on all incomes above $4,000. This law was passed by "wildmen" from the West, only five votes being cast in its favor in the House by representatives from New England, Pennsylvania and New York combined! By a five to four decision the Supreme Court of the United States declared the law unconstitutional, and two decades passed before a Constitutional amendment was ratified and a new income tax law enacted. Remember that the 1894 rate was two per cent, and that incomes under $4,000 were exempt; then recall the maximum rates since that time. In 1918 the maximum normal tax was 12 per cent, plus the maximum surtax of 65 per cent, making a maximum total of 77 per cent. At the present time the highest normal rate is eight per cent, plus the highest surtax of 55 per cent, making a total of 63 per cent. In addition to the Federal income tax many of the states impose a state income tax as well, the maximum rate in North Dakota being 15 per cent. A generation ago these rates would have been absolutely unthinkable, yet they have been accepted without the firing of a shot. To raise the maximum rate to 99 per cent on incomes above $20,000 would require a milder revolution in attitude than has been achieved since 1894.

Consider also the shift in public opinion with regard to laissez-faire and non-interference with business by government. While readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW clearly realize that the NRA cannot accurately be described as socialism, the Administration's program does constitute a revolutionary departure from the principles and practices adhered to by the American people for more than a century. Public opinion is now on the move and is gaining momentum. Whether it can be kept on the road, and whether it will avoid right turns toward fascism but will veer steadily to the left cannot be foreseen at the moment. But there is nothing in our history to make Socialists despair.

Buy! By and By

The National Administration cried, "Sell! Sell! and be prosperous." Various mayors heard, and issued proclamations calling upon their communities to have a grand "Buying Week." The Merchants' Associations decorated the streets. Dealers in all kinds of merchandise placarded their places of business and redoubled their house-to-house advertising. Newspapers shouted the message every morning and evening. The show windows were made more brilliant and seductive than ever before. It was a gala time.

We heard the summons, and something within us whispered, "Buy! Buy!" We were entranced by the window displays. The exhibits of table delicacies made us fairly "dribble at de mouf"—to borrow a phrase from Uncle Remus. When we beheld the lovely fabrics and the excellent styles provided for this season's winter wear, our skin glowed and quivered in anticipation. Then, all that was within us and upon us began to praise the Administration, the Mayor, and the Merchants' Association because now the day for buying had come. Our 1931 suit and our 1930 overcoat said, "Buy! Buy!" "Buy! Buy!" responded our antiquated car and our out-of-date receiving set.

In short order we felt ourselves becoming a very cantata of exulting assent to the Merchants' Association, the Mayor, and the Administration. We reached for our pocketbook. It too, was singing, but softly and in a minor key. We opened it and listened. It was keeping time with the chorus, but this is what it sang: "Bye, Bye!" Or was it: "By and by"?

The Present Shape of Things

NORMAN THOMAS

IT is a temptation when one has recently returned from a transcontinental trip to write a colorful story about American life in an extraordinary time. Elsewhere I have commented on my brief visit to Tom Mooney in San Quentin and upon what I saw of the very significant strike of migratory workers, cotton pickers, mostly Mexican, against the embittered planters, most of them tenant farmers and some of them but little better off than the pickers themselves. It was, among other things, a strike which illustrated the failure of the AAA and the NRA to work together. But I resist the temptation to talk of these things because I want to discuss what seems to me the outstanding problem in America: that it is our obvious failure, as yet, to achieve any organization adequate to the demand which these revolutionary times put upon us.

We are entering what by common consent is now recognized as a third stage of depression, and not the first stage of prosperity. People are better off, certainly, than they were at the beginning of last March and they have more hope. But they are settling down grimly to a hard winter. President Roosevelt's personal popularity is still great, and there is considerable confidence in his resourcefulness. Confidence in some of his specific policies is not great. At the moment his money policy pleases neither the inflationists nor anti-inflationists. Only gold miners are benefited by a plan for buying gold in a country already off the gold standard, where most prices are fixed in the domestic market and where the average man can neither hoard nor use gold as a medium of exchange. More serious is the feeling that the NRA lacks teeth and that the AAA isn't doing the job. I suspect that the discontent of farmers this coming winter and spring will take a more militant form than that of city workers. Discontent, of course, is not enough. Merely to hear the American farmer or worker kick, you cannot tell whether he looks forward to the coöperative commonwealth or backward to a revival of the age of Andrew Jackson plus bathtubs, automobiles and radios. Nevertheless, I can testify to a steadily growing interest not only in the necessity for labor organizations but in the principles of socialism. In neither the industrial nor the political field has this steadily growing interest yet found anything like adequate expression. There is an almost pathetic quality about that discussion which echoes through the pages of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and of other radical papers, on "How much violence shall we need to use to achieve the social revolution?" At present the means for the effective use of violence, if it comes to that, are almost wholly in the hands of a class ready to go fascist long before it will consider socialism or communism. Another winter of unrelieved depression approaching the blackness of 1932-'33 would probably lead to many riots and much confusion. It would not lead to constructive revolution in any hurry. While we wrangle about the respective place of ballots and bullets we are not organized to use either to advantage.

ON the industrial front the situation has its bright spots. Unions are growing, and growing fast. Yet the last A. F. of L. convention missed so many opportunities to develop efficient organization with a real goal in view that one's optimism must be qualified. It was a very dangerous precedent that organization set when it decided to split up the brewery workers' union among the crafts which demanded their share of membership. The summary notice given by the heads of some of the craft unions that they expected to receive their "property rights" in regard to dues of workers who might be organized was to all intents and purposes a declaration that they were ready to sacrifice effective organization for their personal interests as heads of craft unions. In most lines today craft unions can't succeed at all, or can only succeed by entering into a discreditable partnership with the bosses and becoming a substitute for company unions, scarcely to be distinguished from those bodies. The best thing about the NRA is the encouragement it gives to labor to organize and bargain collectively. If labor cannot or will not use that right effectively, the codes are likely to become a strait-jacket, and this despite the good intentions of the President and some of his advisers. General Johnson's speech before the A. F. of L. convention was ominous. In spite of the fact that a survey of the field shows that wherever there is a fairly good code or an agreement under the code it has been won because labor struck or had power to strike, Johnson urged the workers to renounce that right and to accept regulation of their unions by the government. Such an arrangement in our capitalist society would not be a long step removed from the labor set-up in Fascist Italy or Germany. It is only the workers themselves who can block this arrangement and in the long run defeat or remold the business fascism which Mr. Gerard Swope is again advocating.

When we turn from industrial to political organization there is even less cause for satisfaction. Probably

there will be plenty of radical legislation introduced into the next session of Congress, some of it good and some of it crazy. There will be no unifying philosophy and certainly no unifying organization. The most enthusiastic of Mr. Roosevelt's many admirers will scarcely say that he has converted his party to his viewpoint. The Democratic Party in the country is what it long has been. It so completely lacks unity of purpose that when, under pressure of necessity, a Tammany Mayor in New York tried to tax the stock market, it bludgeoned him into submission by the open cooperation of his Democratic comrades in New Jersey, who offered sanctuary in a stock gamblers' paradise free from taxation. As for the Republican Party, there is certainly nothing to hope from it. Its dominant elements now seem to be making common cause with William Randolph Hearst and Al Smith—queer bedfellows those—in denouncing the NRA as bureaucracy, socialism, or worse.

IN short, there is no strong party today which by any stretch of the imagination can be said to represent distinctly and consciously the interest of the great mass of workers. The Socialist Party has found some reason for encouragement in recent elections. To come in second in the vote for Representative-at-large in the state of Arizona was a notable achievement. Jasper McLevy's decisive victory in Bridgeport was more than a well-deserved personal triumph, as was proved by the number of Socialist colleagues elected with him. Socialists are proud of competent, upstanding mayors, but we are under no illusions that under the conditions that prevail in America, under our laws and our Constitution, the mayor of any city can make a small-sized social revolution. Jasper McLevy's hands are especially tied by Connecticut laws. Socialists in office will have to fight steadily for power.

But while there is genuine encouragement in these and other events, that encouragement is very small compared to the magnitude of the need for decisive action. New York City once more was content to put a nominally reform administration in power without demanding that the Fusion forces even so much as provide a platform. Major LaGuardia has a good Congressional record and undoubted sympathies with the under-dog. How great are his administrative gifts remains to be proved. He was careful to run as a liberal and progressive, and not as a radical, in New York, and he and his associates saw that he was balanced on the ticket by a candidate for Comptroller who, according to the Major himself, stood for the opposite side in all financial matters. Tammany keeps its hold on the District Attorney's office in New York City, and that may be worth almost as much to it as the City Hall itself.

What gives us all plenty to think about is that under these circumstances the Socialist vote, not merely for Mayor but for other candidates who were not running against the supposedly radical LaGuardia, dropped to the lowest point touched in recent years. This drop cannot be explained by the campaign waged by the candidates, for that was on a high level. Thousands upon thousands who did not vote for them admit that Solomon and Laidler made far and away the best speeches on the issues of city government. They did not neglect fundamental socialism, to which their colleague Frank Crosswaith and the other candidates likewise gave eloquent voice. Yet look at the result.

THERE are certain obvious and more or less superficial lessons in the election about the nature and conduct of organization work in New York, but the problem goes deeper. I want to raise both for Socialist and non-Socialist readers a few questions: If you believe that democracy can be saved and made efficient in this crisis, to what forces do you look? How do you think those forces will be organized? Do you believe that a general growth of Socialist sentiment plus the accidental appearance now and then of a "good" man on the scene will be enough to stay the steady drift to catastrophe or to some form of fascism which may postpone, and make ultimately more bitter, that catastrophe? Do you believe that miraculously at this late date the Republican and Democratic parties can be taken from the people who have financed them so long and made the vehicles of a conscious and intelligent movement of workers? Do you think, perhaps, that Gabriel will always hover over the White House in order to save Americans from their own apathy? Or do you believe that we must have a strong political mass movement among farmers and workers? If so, do you see signs of it emerging outside of the Socialist Party? And if it is emerging, will it have a philosophy and program halfway adequate to its task unless under Socialist inspiration? Obviously the Socialist Party is not growing as fast as it ought, but what else is growing? The Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota holds office, but it has not made Minnesota a model state in social legislation even compared with some of its Middle Western neighbors.

These are questions which must be answered and answered quickly. None of us can be content with the thought that socialism will grow like a coral island. Nor, unless we are geological optimists, can we rejoice that ultimately, after a succession of disasters, a long interlude of fascism, or a recurrence of the Dark Ages, the coöperative commonwealth will arise. Society as we have known it in the first quarter of this century was unlovely enough. It will be much worse in the years that lie immediately ahead unless we can make it better. That requires organization, economic and political. What excuse have readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW for staying out of the fight? What plans do they suggest for making that fight victorious?

Snores

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

IN M. Madelin's *History of the French Revolution* there is a dramatic description of the opening session of the Estates General at Versailles in 1789. The very meeting itself was a symbol of the extremity of the plight of France; for the calling together of the three estates for the first time in centuries was obviously a last resort, postponed until the complete bankruptcy of the government, financial, moral and intellectual, made that last desperate venture inescapable.

Louis XVI, arrayed in the robes of the Order of the Holy Ghost (and there is a lovely bit of irony in the costume!) sat on a throne on a platform at the front of the hall. At the opening session La Fare, the Bishop of Nancy, made a direct, vigorous speech, picturing the suffering of the people and ending with a strong plea to the King to give justice. It was a powerful setting forth of the conditions in France, which literally shrieked to the skies demanding a new type of statesmanship. But the King, being one of the few persons in the hall who had had a full dinner, fell asleep after the first few minutes. The rest of the Bishop's address was punctuated by the royal snores of the monarch, which reverberated throughout the building.

Those snores were a prophecy of the next few years. The king, and the whole ruling order, had no technique for meeting a complicated social and economic situation except a snore; and that, alas, proved hardly adequate. They could not deal with the situation by head or heart; and the nose was unable to meet the responsibility thrown upon it.

Mr. William J. Bryan once ventured into the field of translating the Bible into modern speech, with considerable addition to the clarity of the text which he retranslated. He called the attention of a campaign audience on one occasion to a verse in Proverbs which reads thus, "The wise man seeth a pit and avoideth it; the foolish man passeth on and falleth into it." Mr. Bryan went on to explain that what the author of Proverbs was trying to say was this: "A wise man gets an idea in the head. A foolish man gets it *in the neck.*"

There could be no better illustration of the difference between getting an idea in the head and getting it in the neck than that afforded by Louis XVI. He was unable to get the idea of the need of France in the head; so he got it—quite literally—in the neck! Unfortunately the process of education by way of the neck rather than the head did not stop with the French Revolution. The last four years have been a long and painful discipline of education. Men and nations have been "getting it in the neck" because of the lack of any genuine ability to get into their heads the need for the social, economic and international organization which the occasions of today demand.

NOR did the technique of snores, as a means of dealing with desperately urgent conditions, cease when the old regime in France went down. That picture of the sleeping King in 1789, which Madelin draws so graphically, unfortunately still serves as a fit symbol for a multitude of responses to the critical issues of the day.

One need not go back two years ago to that classic anthology of nasal resoundings, rebroadcast by Edward Angly in *Oh, Yeah!* to find impressive examples. There are all too many daily repetitions of moth-eaten slogans and mildewed lies, as adequate resources for meeting a much more far-reaching breakdown than that threatened before the French Revolution. Many of these detonations have just the same intellectual content as Louis's snore.

Listen, for instance, to the venerable gentleman who happens to be Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Claude A. Swanson. When Hitler withdrew from the Disarmament Conference, Mr. Swanson was out on the Pacific Coast. He promptly countered with the hoary aphorism that the surest guarantee of peace is a navy second to none. Perhaps after such a strenuous piece of mental exertion he lay down and took a nap. Or, more probably, the words of wisdom came out during a nap, for they make a perfect snore. For the pertinent question to a statesman who makes such a remark is not: "What did you do in the Great War?" but: "Grandpa, where on earth have you been since? Have you read anything in the last fifteen years except the *Army and Navy Journal*?"

That some leaders of the army, however, can snore as loud as the navy, was amply proved by the address of General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the Army, at the West Point commencement last June. After commending "tolerance" fervently, as the first point of his address, he launched into a beautifully intolerant denunciation of those working for disarmament, described under the inclusive description "peace cranks." As the New York *Times* reported him, he warned that the security of the United States was imperiled by pacifists and retrenchment. "The unabashed and unsound propaganda of the peace cranks leads to muddled thinking," declared the general. (This of

course, was not in the section of the speech devoted to tolerance!) By inference, it is too clear to need any documentation that the "sound" propaganda of military chiefs of staff leads to *clear* thinking. (As any study of the origins of the World War will readily disclose!) As a climax he cried out to the class: "Good luck my dear young comrades-in-arms! Happy landings and God be with you." Happy landings! There were ten million very happy landings in the last war. And most of the comrades-in-arms rest on the spot where they landed. But probably that regrettable detail could be ascribed to the muddled thinking of those who foresaw the ultimate result of the armament race going on before 1914.

OF course, all the snoring is not being done by those in uniforms. Here, for instance, is an interpretation of the depression from the mind of H. L. Mencken, as reported in the New York *World-Telegram:* "The effects of the depression are greatly exaggerated, mainly by interested parties. Some of them are communistic sympathizers who try to make it appear that communism would save us. Others are charity mongers who naturally howl calamity whenever there is a chance, and yet others are simply idiots of the kind who yell 'Fire!' in crowded theatres. . . Obviously, the capitalistic system is working badly in these days of severe stress. But so would any other system. It seems to me that, for all its defects, it is doing far better in the United States today than the communistic system did in Russia at the time of the last famine."

There is imbedded in Mr. Mencken's profound interpretation a stunning piece of logic. Not many persons would have thought of comparing the working of the capitalistic system in the United States during a period of unprecedented plenty with the struggles of Russia during a famine. It is this firm seizure of underlying economic realities which, as much as anything else, has accounted for the rapid decline in Mr. Mencken's enormous vogue as a prophet.

We have learned to expect the cheery messages from Roger Babson, and he rarely fails us. We hope no one has missed his latest, entitled, very appropriately, "Cheer Up"—price 60 cents. That is cheap for cheer in these days. In this little book Mr. Babson explains the business pendulum: left, right, left, right, good times, bad times! as inevitable as summer and winter. So we see good times are coming, because good times always come again. Could anything be plainer, children? More than that, he lets the secret out at last and tells us what caused the depression. It came (hold your breath) from extravagance, waste and dishonesty. And hence it can be cured by honesty, industry and frugality. Just like that. Nothing wrong with the whole system of unrestrained profit seeking. It was just extravagance and some bad, dishonest people.

It would be pleasant to rest in the delusion that the technique of a snore for a desperate situation is limited to the political and business world and that in the leadership of organized religion snoring in public is unknown. But no one who reads the papers even occasionally could hide behind such a delusion. High on the list would stand the New York preacher who told his congregation last spring that if they would only hold a prayer meeting in Wall Street the depression would be over in half an hour. That was a lusty one, worthy of a Pulitzer prize if one were offered. But close to it would stand the winged words delivered by a Bishop from the Middle West in a New York pulpit as reported in the New York *Times:* "The history of no other nation since civilization began reveals so many instances of the intervention of God as does that of the United States. The Almighty guided the Pilgrims in the colonization of America. . . In all the periods of crisis that have succeeded that initial venture God has stood by. With his aid the revolution was brought to a victorious conclusion. America's consistent success in war has been due to the assistance of God rather than to any native aptitude."

It is inspiring to have the Bishop remind us that the army has had such a willing ally in absolutely every war. Some unspiritual historians have found it hard to think of God as having had much to do with our victories in the Mexican or Spanish American wars, but that merely shows the lack of reverence and understanding displayed by the carnal mind.

And now, within recent weeks, comes a professor, addressing a Laymen's League in Chicago, who proposes a code for the churches, of which point six is: "To disclaim all anti-American and anti-social principles that have usurped prominence in certain pulpits, where on the one hand the subversive doctrines of pacifism and internationalism and Sovietism, and on the other hand the disintegration of the home through easy divorce, birth control and temporary marriage have been flaunted before the public eye." Internationalism in the church dedicated to a God who made all nations of one blood to dwell together? Blasphemous! Away with it! Under the code promulgated by the professor the churches will enter a new era!

Snores, even the royal snores of a King, were of little avail in dealing with a distracted, bankrupt, chaotic France in 1789. They have exactly the same value, yesterday, today and forever.

Key Rings

YOUTH dangles keys
On fantasies;
Age carries keys
In memories;
But Time, unfolding this minute,
Slips the key to a universe in it!

HELLENE SEAMAN

Britain Turns Toward Labor

H. N. BRAILSFORD

THERE is movement, at last, and action on the political stage in England. Through two dreary years we had lived in frozen immobility. Nothing could happen, because the National Government sat, or rather lolled, at Westminster with a solid majority of nine-tenths of the Commons behind it. Mr. MacDonald might have played the dictator if he had ever been able to make up his mind what he wanted to do. Beyond posing at international conferences, it seemed there was nothing that he did want to do. Free Trade was destroyed; economy froze the social services; expenditure on armaments went mounting up; Russia and Ireland were bullied . . . and that was all. We looked wistfully across the Atlantic and sighed for motion, effort, constructive ambition—anything rather than this complacency in inertia.

But things have begun to move. The impulse came from below, from the spontaneous feelings of the average man and woman. A by-election took place at East Fulham which has shaken this dead world into life. It is a commonplace suburban division of West London, inhabited partly by the smaller middle class and partly by workers. Never in history had it chosen or come near choosing a Labor Member of Parliament. But the impossible happened. Mr. Wilmot was elected by a substantial majority. The previous Labor poll was doubled, and the previous Tory poll was halved. Everyone, moreover, understood why this happened. It reflected the fears of the ordinary citizen lest the present Government get us entangled in a European war. He had good reasons for this fear. A few days earlier the annual Conference of the Tory Party had passed by a unanimous vote a resolution calling for greater armaments.

Subsequent events have confirmed this first hint that the masses are rising against the Government. The annual elections for the renewal of a part of every municipal council resulted in what is called a "landslide" for Labor. Everywhere it made gains, and often very substantial gains. Municipal elections are not always an accurate guide to the movement of political opinion, but certainly they reveal a general tendency. At least one might conclude that the average elector had recovered from the panic of 1931. Next came a very peculiar by-election at Kilmarnock in the West of Scotland. Here the Government retained the seat, and Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, an attractive young man and one of the very few nominal Socialists who followed Mr. MacDonald, headed the poll, thanks of course to Tory support. But the total Labor vote was greater than his by a good 5,000. It was, however, split into nearly equal halves. The slightly bigger half went to the official Labor candidate; the slightly smaller half went to the joint candidate of the I. L. P. and the Communists. Both men two years ago were prominent members of the I. L. P. The printed addresses in which they appealed to the electors were written in almost identical language. The Left-winger fought cautiously, and the Communist blend in his campaign was scarcely perceptible. None the less, they chose to fight each other, and a seat which should have been won for socialism was presented to Mr. MacDonald. If the result is disquieting for Labor, it certainly is not encouraging for the Government.

We tell each other that the I. L. P. is stronger in the West of Scotland, and the official Labor Party weaker there than anywhere else in our island. That is true. None the less, I confess myself surprised by the relative success of this I. L. P. and Communist alliance, not merely at Kilmarnock, but also at Clay Cross (the miners' district in Derbyshire that Arthur Henderson lately won). If this feud goes on, as I fear it will, it may cost us a good many seats at the next general election. Two more elections (Shipton and Rusholme) will be decided while this article is crossing the Atlantic. Neither of them is promising for Labor, and if even one of them should bring victory, we may reckon on sweeping changes at the general election two or three years hence.

THE reaction of Mr. MacDonald and his followers to all these signs of the times is very interesting. Very vocally they blame one another. The moderates say that Fulham was scared by the extremists, who chatter incessantly about the need for a greater air force and a greater navy. This reaches the average man at once, for it is broadcast daily by the two newspaper groups that fill with us the place that the Hearst Press occupies in America. Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook, with the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express,* are a thorn in the Government's side, though they are as Tory, as militarist, as reactionary, and as imperialist, as any Conservative could desire. The fact is that they are too "true-blue"; the shade is strident, and unsuited to this climate. We like quieter tones, veiled meanings, and the decency of the perfect pulpit manner. Only yesterday Lord Rothermere was shouting for 20,000 military airplanes. That is going too far. With half that number we could terrorize all Europe. This is the Hitler or Mussolini accent;

it is not authentic English. The average elector does not like it: it scares the women and enrages the workers. The more sober Tories understand this very well. They are right in their suspicion that it was this kind of thing that lost them East Fulham. Besides it is unnecessary. They can trust Mr. MacDonald to do all the arming that is required, and to do it with ethical unction. As for Sir John Simon, who could have smashed the League and the Disarmament Conference more effectually? But he did it with an air of impeccable virtue, as became his Liberal training. The wiser Tories know the worth of these two men. The "die-hards," in short, are a nuisance and a liability, and the manners of Lord Lloyd and Mr. Churchill are, moreover, excessively offensive.

AS a result of these reflections, the National Government is trying to look national again. Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin and Sir John Simon sang its praises yesterday in a most harmonious trio from a single platform. They told us that they have work to do which will occupy an entire generation, though they omitted to tell us what it is. They want to make an end of party. They are, you must understand, something greater than a party: they are the nation. This sounds to my ears rather like the Hitler-Mussolini aspiration for the "totalitarian" state. Indeed, Mr. MacDonald in a very suspicious passage expressed a kind of admiration (qualified of course by many reservations) for the work of these leaders. This nationalism is, indeed, what a witty friend of mine has called "Fabian Fascism." It stands to Hitlerism much as the Socialism of the Webbs stands to Marxism. Mr. Baldwin, however, went on to remove any possible misapprehension by affirming his faith in democracy and his detestation of dictatorship. Finally Sir John Simon brought his contribution to the national altar. He offered up what once was dearest to him. He declared that free trade is dead forever.

Behind this demonstration quiet negotiations are going on for the fusing of the three party organizations. The minute "National" Labor Party is negligible in numbers, but it has some names and plenty of money. The "National" Liberals are also a minority, though a bigger one. They add little to the Tory voting strength, but they lend it a certain prestige. Without them it could not pretend to be "national." They are moreover, from Mr. Baldwin's standpoint a useful make-weight against the Lloyds, the Churchills, the Beaverbrooks and the Rothermeres, whom he detests —a sentiment which they cordially share. It seems, in short, that Mr. MacDonald is cautiously—he does nothing rashly—trying to carry out a maneuver which he has long contemplated. He is trying to form a center party. It will be the truly moderate, English mass of opinion, equally removed from official Labor on its Left and from the Die-hards on its Right. They will not like it. They will declare that the glorious Tory Party with its age-old tradition is being destroyed by these interlopers who have crept into the fold. They laugh at Mr. MacDonald—his unctuous, humorless solemnity, his vanity, his caution, his lack of any constructive policy whatever. I cannot predict what the result will be. The Tory Party saved itself in 1922 when Mr. Lloyd George tried to carry out the same maneuver. But the two men are poles apart. Whatever he may do, Mr. Lloyd George remains a congenital radical. Mr. MacDonald is by temperament the complete conservative, though accident willed that he should be born in a blacksmith's cottage. He may succeed where the Welsh Wizard failed. He is the duller man of the two, but he would not risk this game unless he were sure of success. The Wizard will risk anything for the fun of hazardous play. Besides, Mr. Baldwin on this occasion is on the stranger's side.

If the maneuver succeeds, and the Die-hards, or the more daring of them, are cast out of the "National" party (which of course is above party), we shall at length have an avowed Fascist Party with Mr. Churchill at its head. He is the ideal man for that post —eloquent, picturesque, ruthless, but rather old for such an adventure.

It remains to discuss the fate of the semi-national Liberals—Sir Herbert Samuel and his group. Most of them want to "cross the floor" and go into Opposition, but their leader has difficulty in making up his mind. In present circumstances I imagine he will hesitate even more painfully. They may in the end join the Center Party, if the Die-hards are really cast out. It is an amusing situation, and, with such cautious players, very difficult to disentangle. Nothing is certain save that Labor is recovering lost ground.

Cornetist

O APPLE-HEADED music maker, blow
Your modern flute as it was never blown;
Sway back, and shimmy, bend your dark face low,
Roll eyes to heaven, make your bright horn moan;
O dusky Gabriel, they hear you now,
The white-skinned dancers in this brilliant place.
O honk the Blues as only you know how—

The judgment day is jazzy; with the grace
Of brown-skinned people see the white folk sway
And sweat together to your low-down song.
You blow the trumpet for a dancing day;
Your glad believers are a pallid throng.

But when you finish use the tradesman's door—
You are no "special person" anymore.

MILTON BRIGHTE

Not in the

Only Fools Say That

H. M. Tomlinson, war correspondent and author of *All Our Yesterdays,* summarizes the results of the World War for the New York *Herald Tribune* in this fashion: "What good came out of millions of slain and the destruction of an amount of material wealth which is incalculable? Everybody knows now what good came out of it—not enough to cover with butter the bread of one workless man's child. Only ruin and grief came out of it; we can do no more now than console ourselves with the memory of a few friends who died in that affair, whose character and talents were nobly superior to the whole vast tide of popular passion because of which they are lost to the world. Only fools say that war brings out the best in a nation; war selects most of the active men with the finer motives and the better intelligence—to destroy them."

Verboten

Germany has forbidden more than 66 Czech newspapers and journals to be circulated in Hitler Land. The Czechs countered by refusing entry to 89 German publications.

W. I. L. on Haiti

The National Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has protested to President Roosevelt against the so-called executive agreement with the Government of Haiti, on the ground that "the Haitian Congress by unanimous vote in September, 1932, rejected an agreement covering virtually the same terms as those now proposed. If practically the same agreement is now concluded under the name of a Presidential Accord, will this not be interpreted generally, and especially throughout Latin-America, as a deliberate attempt to circumvent the will of the People of Haiti while their Congress is not in session?"

Behind Flags and Bands

The cost of militarism to the people of Japan is vividly summarized in the current issue of *Living Age.* Finance Minister Takahashi recently informed the nation that, if expenditures are kept at the present level, within five years the entire state revenue will be required to make interest payments on government loans. The current deficit approximates one billion yen, or exactly the amount expended on the army and navy. The militarists had hoped that Manchuria would make Japan independent of imports and that the depreciated yen would increase exports to the point where Japan would enjoy a favorable balance of trade, but in both respects they have been disappointed.

Child Labor Day

The week-end of January 27-29 has been designated as Child Labor Day. Individuals and organizations desiring to observe this occasion may secure ample material from the National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

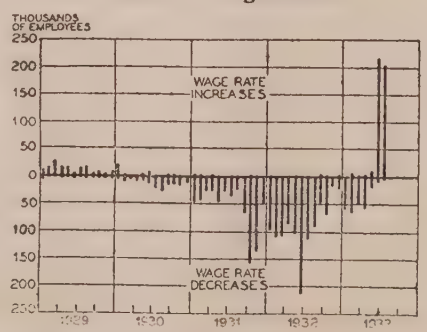
The Cost of Militarism

Curious and significant confirmation of the increasing costs of militarism comes from the leading military journal in Germany, the *Militaer Wochenblatt,* which points out that modern war makes enormous demands on the economic structure of a warring country. It recalls that the World War cost about a thousand times more than the Franco-Prussian War and ponders the idea whether war and military preparations are doomed because of their enormous financial and economic costs.

Hitler Culture

Courses listed in the new catalogue of the University of Berlin include six on race, 11 on heredity and eugenics, two on physical culture, three on sociology, six on politics, two on Germany's place in the world, four on German economics, three on the history of the early Germans, nine on the history of Germany, four on German personalities, four on German folklore and German language, three on German Christianity, three on German music, three on Germans in other lands, one on problems of colonization. All of these courses deal with Germany and the Germans. Only seven courses are listed on "other countries," and these concern chiefly the national movements in Hungary, in Flanders, etc. One course under "Politics" deals with "Germany's fight for a favorable world opinion."

Trends in Wage Rates



Number of Factory Employees Affected by Wage Increases and Decreases (data collected by Bureau of Labor Statistics).

—*Monthly Review of Federal Reserve Bank, N. Y.*

Prison Labor

In 1932 there were 158,947 prisoners in 116 State and 12 Federal prisons. Of these, 82,276 were occupied in productive labor. Prison wages ranged from two to 15 cents a day, with a few prisons paying higher rates. Prison labor produced goods valued at $75,000,000. Among the leading items were 22,000,000 shirts, 63,000,000 pounds of binder twine, and 36,000,000 automobile license plates. Prisoners also built 1,200 miles of roads valued at $15,000,000, one-third of which are in Georgia.

Age Limit Raised

The age limit for applicants as stenographers and typists in government service has been raised from 40 years to 53 by the Civil Service Commission.

Swiss Socialists Make Gains

In the election for the Grand Council of the Canton of Geneva last week the Socialists won 45 seats, as compared with 55 seats for all other parties. The correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* predicts that in the city election two weeks hence Geneva will go Socialist as did Zurich and Berne.

The Armament Press

The International Press Conference being held at Madrid under the auspices of the League of Nations has been confronted with an interesting problem. The Russian delegate, Rosenberg, proposed that the practice of the armament makers of subsidizing newspapers be stopped. The motion was killed through the efforts of the delegates from France and the countries of the Little Entente. It is precisely in these nations that the munitions makers own, control, or subsidize the press to the greatest degree.

Folk School Expands

The Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tennessee, under the leadership of Myles Horton, has added five new teachers: Jim Dombrowski, Dorothy Thompson, Zilla Hawes, Malcolm Chisholm and Rupert Hampton. This is a school for adults who are desirous of better equipping themselves for service in behalf of the working class. The entire project is operated at an incredibly low cost.

Over the Hill From the Poorhouse

Leading the country, Delaware has just abolished its poorhouse system through the establishment of old age pensions and the opening of a modern Welfare Home for aged who need institutional care, reports *Social Security.* The State has closed its three county poorhouses, thus removing the necessity of thrusting indigent aged into debasing almshouses.

Headlines

Chemical War Preparation in Italy

Since the World War a great development in chemical industries has taken place in Italy. The new process of extracting nitrogen from the air makes unnecessary the imports of salt-peter from Chile and has led to a great development of hydro-electric power. Rayon industries have also been encouraged because these lend themselves readily to conversion into poison gas factories in time of war.

How Germany Re-arms

Germany is not permitted to own military airplanes, but as a way out of that difficulty aircraft are given as "presents" to various Nazi locals. The local at Leipzig recently received five airplanes as gifts.

U. S. Reaffirms Policy

The State Department has notified the League of Nations that it concurs in the conclusions and recommended procedure of the League's Manchurian Advisory Committee for practical application of the principle of non-recognition of Manchukuo.

The Roerich Peace Banner

The Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace was created by Nicholas Roerich in 1929. It provides that educational, artistic and scientific institutions, artistic and scientific missions, works of art and cultural sites and monuments of all kinds be respected in times of peace and war. To insure this a banner was created by which museums, universities, churches, cathedrals, libraries, and all other cultural centers may be declared inviolable. Fifteen nations will be officially represented at the third international convention of this group to be held on Nov. 17 and 18 in Washington.

Pacifism in Sunday Schools

The Council of the National Sunday School Union of Great Britain recently passed a resolution on war, as follows: "We declare our intention of doing our utmost to dissuade all whom we may influence in our Sunday Schools and Churches as well as outside these organizations from taking any part in war. The life and death of Christ are the repudiation of force in international affairs, and as Christian people we feel we must follow the leadership of Christ." The Union is "an interdenominational organization representing some 200,000 Sunday School workers." The *New Chronicle,* official organ of the Union, in discussing the resolution, summed up the issue as a choice between the principle "my country right or wrong" and a conviction that war is so defintiely opposed to the mind of Christ that a Christian can take no part in it.

449 Cities

The National Municipal League reports that 449 cities in the United States are now operating under the city manager plan.

Tories Expanding the Dole

A new unemployment insurance bill has been introduced in the House of Commons calling for the inclusion of four million additional workers within its scope. If it is enacted into law, a total of 16 million persons will be afforded the protection of unemployment insurance.

The New Germany

In Berlin drills against poison gas attacks are now the fashion. School-children are carefully instructed as to what they must do to protect themselves and are frequently rehearsed in protective methods. Jewish children are not included in these drills.

Writers and Scientists Aided

The Soviet government, reports the *Soviet Union Review,* has recently taken steps to improve the working and living conditions of writers and scientific workers in the U.S.S.R. A decree was passed making special provision for additional living quarters for workers in these two categories and wherever possible a separate room for scientists in which to carry on their work.

South Welcomes "Green Pastures"

An Atlanta correspondent sends us the following account of the reception accorded this famous play: "'Green Pastures' has come home at last—not to the place of its birth, but back to the land of its descent, where through the centuries its essential significance has been slowly shaped in the thought, the experience, and the emotions of the Negro race. And what a homecoming it has been! . . . In its tour of Southern cities, everywhere successful, the play opened Monday in Atlanta for eight performances. Pressed with invitations far beyond the possibility of acceptance, Richard B. Harrison, who plays 'de Lawd,' appeared three times Sunday before large church audiences gathered to greet him. . . . The fine, unstrained courtesy extended him by Rev. Brandon Peters, the pastor, a native Virginian late from Louisiana, the rapt attention given him by the audience, and the ovation accorded him at the conclusion of his address would have been an interesting study for those who think of race relations in the South solely in terms of benevolent, but high-hat landlords on the one hand, and lynching bees on the other."

Sport Flourishes in U.S.S.R.

Facilities for sport and recreation have been extensively increased throughout the Soviet Union within the last five years. In 1928 there were 2,400 sport grounds and stadiums; today there are more than 4,000. Two thousand public gymnasiums are scattered throughout the Union in 1933, as compared with 311 in 1928. Water sport stations have increased during this period from 81 to 250; skiing stations from 75 to 300; "Houses of Physical Culture," from 41 to 59; local stadiums, from 15 to 32.

Academic Haven in Palestine

An expansion program embracing fourteen new posts to be filled by former German scholars has been announced by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Chancellor of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Dr. Magnes, formerly Rabbi of Temple Emanu-el in New York, announced that appointments will be made in the fields of Hebrew, Jewish Philosophy, modern history, Latin, education, psychology, sociology, mathematics, physical chemistry, physics, pharmaceutics, radiology, pathology and clinical chemistry.

Fight Against Pacifism

In the *Communist* for November, following the text of the manifesto of the New York Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, is published an excerpt from a resolution adopted by the Communist International in 1928, as follows: "The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight *against pacifism.* In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism. . . . The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated."

Dignified Peaceful Persuasion

Commander Heathcote has written to the *Morning Post* (London) as follows: "Let us keep a hold of the wording in the old song: 'We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do'; rather than 'we are giving up the fight, our fate we leave to you.' Armed forces, and above all, the Navy, help maintain rather than take life. They are the essence of a dignified peaceful persuasion; aggressive only, as a supreme measure, in preservation of honour."

Christian Social Action

GEORGE A. COE

A CHRISTIAN Social-Action Conference offers an extraordinary opportunity to secure a bird's-eye view of contemporary society and of contemporary Christianity. Imagine two or three score persons, all of whom abjure capitalism and desire a classless society, discussing through eight long sessions (almost 24 hours in all) what we'd better do to bring in a social order that shall be consonant with the principles to which the churches give lip-service! The physical toughness that this implies is a fitting symbol of the ethical decisiveness that characterized the meeting held in Chicago, October 27-30. Ethical decisiveness, but not resolutions, resounding or otherwise; rather, an attempt to see what comes after the resolution-passing stage. Here, then, was effort to get at the facts that a social radical needs to know; an effort to evaluate current reconstruction movements and proposals; a deepening of the philosophy, and an enlarging of the perspective, of "social" Christianity; a realistic appraisal of ecclesiastical forces; a coöperatively made catalog, a long one, of specific activities that individuals and churches might engage in now; finally, an experience of fellowship within a minority group, many members of which have met ecclesiastical antagonism and thwarting.

The procedure and the temper of the gathering may be indicated by its handling of the NRA problem. James Mullenbach, veteran social worker, teacher in a theological seminary, and now one of the administrators of the NRA labor code, presented an intimate, inside view of its workings. The new legal position of labor, he thinks, will lead to a reorganization of the labor movement and even provide preliminary training for the part that labor must play in a new, non-profit economy. On the other hand, the discussion brought out the view that the NRA assumes the validity of capitalism, subordinates the welfare of the many to profits for owners of capital, is destined to develop the same economic inefficiency and breakdown that it aims to cure, and is one step in the development of an American fascism. Fred Henderson, English economist and Socialist leader, contended that no manipulation of the employer-employee relation in a surplus economy managed in the capitalist manner can create the purchasing power upon which the success of the NRA depends. The simple reason is that power production requires so little labor, and that wages, however high they may be boosted, will be added to the cost of production. The populace never will be able, through wages, to absorb the available commodities.

The farm situation was considered at length. What can a minister do whose church board contains both milk strikers and milk producers who insist upon marketing their product even at the cost of violent conflict with the strikers? The strikers, it appears, are farmers who know that they are insolvent, whereas the non-strikers are those who still believe that they are solvent. The point of view of the insurgent farmers was vividly presented by Mr. Graham of the so-called Folk School at Ashland, Michigan. To them the Farm Board Federation is related to the farmer as the company union is related to the industrial worker. The opposition Farmers' Union is rapidly spreading, the farmers being convinced that at last they must take their affairs into their own hands, that control of their fate by city men and money-lenders must cease.

Here and almost everywhere else there stood out the determining actuality—at least for anyone who is realistic—of a class struggle that cannot be ended by compromise or by dividing the plums. The class struggle even becomes accentuated through the NRA and the AAA; it underlies the problem of public ownership of public utilities, and likewise the meaning of consumers' coöperatives; it is at the heart of the race question; it explains the hold of militarism and of militaristic nationalism; for the churches it creates the livest issue concerning vital religious experience. A desire to identify oneself with the exploited class was general; but how to bring the class struggle to a conclusion in a classless society was not made clear. There was apparently no dissent from the view that we should work on many fronts simultaneously (labor unions, coöperatives, public ownership, farmer organizations, political action, preaching, and teaching), but here the agreement ended. There was a strong swing towards the Socialist Party, naturally; but some balked at what they regard as dogmatism and an uncoöperative attitude towards important reconstructive forces.

Though the necessity of a shift of ownership was almost unanimously taken for granted, the problem of how a self-perpetuating owning class is to be dispossessed was, in the opinion of this observer, neglected. Some forms of illegal force were condoned by at least a few members of the conference, but such violence as Communists look for and rely upon was neither condoned nor shown to be avoidable. Moreover, the question of how one should act if revolutionary violence does break out was not considered.

On the other hand, it should be said with emphasis that the practical measures to which members are willing to commit themselves are in almost every instance directed against the continuance of a capitalist economy and towards a truly Socialist state (with all the enrichment of life that this would make possible). The force of these measures, if they could be combined, would be enormous.

The chief obstacle to economic reconstruction in the United States was found in the almost mysterious mental inertness of our populace. People suffer and suffer without taking the trouble to find out the causes of their affliction. Our voters are politically illiterate, inexperienced in coöperation, and unarmed against propaganda. They wait for somebody else to do for them what they should be expected to do for themselves by decisive political action and economic pressure. Here, of course, is the opportunity of the man on horseback, and the fact cannot be denied that fascism is advancing among us.

Meantime, what of the churches? Here was a group of persons reared in the churches, knowing how to worship as well as how to carry on a discussion, wistfully hoping that their churches would take the side of the exploited in a struggle that is actual and as yet inevitable. A few had almost ceased to hope. The church seemed to them to be an institution that is engaged in saving its own institutional life. Its spiritual life is being suffocated by its entanglement with capitalist interests and controls. Yet all seemed to believe that the churches offer a valuable opportunity to reach people, particularly the young, with the gospel of a fellowship that far transcends that of the church in our generation.

Farmers Confront City Radicals

PAUL E. PFUETZE

THE man power and leadership of the farm movement could become an invaluable force in building the new order of society if urban radicals approached them with sincerity and intelligence and with proper regard for native peculiarities. Farmers have the advantage of not being so cowed and benumbed as their brothers in industry. And they have a tradition of rebellion and non-conformity. Conservative in morals and religion, they have often been radical in politics and economics. Our War of Independence was as much a revolt of the common people (mostly small farmers) against the wealthy Tories as it was a war of secession from England. Shays's Rebellion of 1786 was nothing less than armed resistance to tax collectors on the part of New England farmers faced with debtors' prison. The Tory Federalists were soon in power again; the little fellows were crowded out or forced into the mills.

The freer spirits escaped across the Alleghenies; but still the loan sharks and land speculators dogged their trail. Pioneers cleared and paid for their acres, only to have their land taken from them; they had the wrong kind of papers. So they moved on. Easterners contemptuously regarded these Westerners as reckless disturbers. They were a restless, wild lot, with warm hearts, hot tempers and quick trigger fingers. Interest in politics was keen; there was much talk about "freedom" and "independence," about the Declaration and the Bill of Rights. The West elected "Old Hickory"; it was the raw new country against New England; the plain folk who toil against those who don't. The West upset the apple-cart by nominating and electing Abe Lincoln. They were always kicking over the traces. They were trouble makers. "Hands off" and "Don't tread on me" were neither uncommon nor meaningless warnings. That there was so little violence during the recurring depressions of the last century is due to two things: cheap land, with a chance for a fresh start "out west," and the discovery of gold in California, Colorado and Alaska.

But by 1890 the last frontier had been pushed to the Pacific. There was no further escape. And it was precisely at that time that farmers stopped running away from their economic troubles and began to do some hard thinking. Out of that painful ordeal came the Populist Revolt, making the capitalist East shudder. The Populist movement was baffled at every turn by the superior organization of the two major parties and the dominant economic interests. Even so it became a powerful third party and it achieved considerable success in several Western states. In 1896 came the betrayal at the hands of the Democratic Party. The Democratic platform that year was a plagiarism of Populist doctrine. Beguiled and assured of success by the silver-tongued Bryan, the Populists made an unholy and ill-fated alliance with the Democrats. After Bryan's defeat this great independent party never recovered its strength and spirit.

The main support of the Bull Moose Party and LaFollette's Progressive Party came from the West. The Non-Partisan League became a real force in the politics of several states. In Minnesota the Farmer-Labor Party sounds the dominant note of protest. It controls many municipal and state elections, and has

sent several Senators and Congressmen to Washington. During recent sessions of Congress the only real progressives in Washington were the Western insurgents. During Norman Thomas's swing through the "bread basket" of America the farmers heard him gladly, and many voted for him. To those who heard him he appealed as the deepest thinking, best informed and most courageous political leader of presidential stature bidding for popular support. It is not a vain hope, I think, to look and work for a resurgence of the vitality and truly radical purpose which in years past have characterized the American Farm Movement.

True, the West helped to elect Franklin Roosevelt —by deserting its former allegiance. But if the President fails in his desperate bid for prosperity, if the Democratic Party again is found guilty of betraying its agrarian support, the farmer will be talking revolution again. Already he is in a surly mood. He is showing his teeth. The lean years have made them sharp. Farmers are not afraid of direct action when they feel it is necessary. The "holiday" movement is not a country picnic. It is, in fact, rebellion; for the methods employed by these embattled men are extra-legal and not always pacific. But so far this direct action has taken the forms of sporadic, badly-planned "holidays," tax strikes and local demonstrations to prevent foreclosures and sheriff's sales. It now becomes necessary to divert this defensive insurrection into positive revolutionary activity. And any radical movement which is realistic and cognizant of our national experience will set out to do this very thing. It means hard work in the fields of political organization, economic ideology and revolutionary theory. It means establishing recruiting and training stations all over the agricultural plains of this country. Old beliefs must be destroyed by teaching new faiths; old slogans replaced by new ones with greater power over the imagination; new purposes, loyalties and passions substituted for those of the present ruling class. The old immoral postulates must be disproven by describing the ethical premises of a new and fairer world.

THE trouble has been that most of the farmer-labor talk is inappropriate, and characterized by ignorance and ill-will. There is ill-will as the heritage of divergent traditional philosophies of life. There is unreality because neither city laborers nor rural workers understand the peculiar problems of the other; nor do they accurately appraise their mutual interests. The Communist Party, fairly successful in exploiting the peasants of Russia and China, generally holds the agriculturalist in contempt. American farmers do not respond to European Marxian lingo; and it is doubtful whether the dogmatism and moral cynicism of the present Communist Party will ever appeal to our farmers. City-bred Socialists have enunciated no intelligent policy for agriculture. Labor-unionists have ever joined their oppressors in opposing their natural allies—the rural workers. Metropolitan centers have taken for granted that the village must at the cost of its own life maintain the city in all its wealth and brilliance. Country folk resent this professional, imperialistic, domineering hauteur.

Urban classes, through their political and literary lackeys, have purposely nurtured the tradition of rural individualism and independence. They have made it as difficult as they could for farmers to organize and coöperate in an agricultural program. These days are too tragic and too critical to indulge in suicidal feuds between farmers and laborers. The future destiny of all workers, rural and urban, lies in union, not in division. None of the present agrarian movements is radical enough; but the same thing can be said of most urban movements, certainly of organized labor. Nevertheless, the agricultural classes (middle class though they are) are not only desirable but necessary to the building of any successful American radical party. To its chagrin will radicalism be made aware of the hot resentment and enraged power of the rural classes if it continues to disregard and deride them. Dogmatic Marxism is heedlessly making enemies of possible friends and shunting them into the reactionary camp.

AS potential revolutionaries the farmers have several things in their favor. They have pride in their class; they have always been jealous of their freedom and conscious of their political rights and influence. They are not yet indispensable to society, as industrial workers increasingly are in a technological age. Yet they pay tribute to the same overlords. Farmers are realizing that the "system" is gradually reducing them to a status of peasantry. They are learning that, under the lawful guise of "fixed charges," capitalism is confiscating their homes and farms. They are not, however, as completely dispossessed nor as broken in spirit as the masses of urban laborers. And they are in a fighting temper.

This is heresy from orthodox Marxism. But these are some of the facts which made the West dangerous to the status quo in earlier days, and they indicate why farmers are indispensable to an aggressive Socialist movement, be it constitutional or revolutionary. Any successful radical party in this country must arouse the farmers, enlist their coöperation, and give them a real place in the party councils. Rural groups are not greatly interested in a political movement directed from Moscow. Increasing numbers are interested in a farmer-labor party which is indigenous and realistic and radical, but whose policies and strategies do not disregard the peculiar circumstances of American life and tradition.

The Second International

R. E. SHALLCROSS AND J. B. MATTHEWS

THE gravity of the present world situation brought the Labor and Socialist International into extraordinary session in Paris late in August to consider its strategy in dealing with the questions of war and fascism. Not the least significant feature of the gathering was the expression of a dissenting view by the American delegation. The American dissent was not unanimous, the delegation being divided four to two. Ignoring the fact that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in the United States had chosen a delegation on which he was outvoted two to one, Jacob Panken declared on the floor of the Congress that he believed his opinions were shared by the great majority of American Socialists. This was a charge that the American party had sent an unrepresentative delegation.

The Congress itself was overwhelming in its endorsement of views that were held by the minority of two in the American delegation—the division being 291 to 18. It is of considerable importance for the American party itself to decide by discussion and the formal adoption of policy whether or not its delegation at Paris accurately reflected its present position or the direction in which its present policies move. The important differences of opinion arose at Paris over such questions as the general effectiveness of the Labor and Socialist International strategy, the Social Democratic defeat in Germany, participation in coalition governments with pro-capitalist parties, the meaning of democracy, the NRA, the United Front with the Communist International, and the use of the League of Nations in international crises.

With reference to the past policies of the L.S.I., Maynard Krueger, of the United States, called for a revision of ideology, strategy and tactics and "the moral courage to face the fact that we are weaker than before the war." The World War dealt the Second International a blow from which its successor, the L.S.I., has recovered neither its prestige nor its effectiveness. The history of the post-war period has found it on the defensive, a strategy which loses, among other things, the psychological advantage. The German argument that the masses of that country had never given the Social Democracy a mandate for proceeding to socialization does not stand up as an alibi. In the early elections of the German Republic it required the final tabulation of votes for the Social Democracy to know certainly that it had failed to receive such a mandate. If the leaders of that party had assumed the offensive against the bourgeoisie by cleaning out all the reactionaries from the army, the civil service and the courts, as they were once in a position to do, there can be little doubt that the German workers, as well as a large section of the lower middle class beaten down by war and inflation, would have provided the necessary support for complete socialization. Its policy of watchful waiting for a mandate from the working class within the framework of the Weimar Constitution led only to a steadily diminishing proportion of the votes cast in fifteen years of balloting, and permitted the final destruction of constitutionalism by a ruthless but more politically astute counter-revolution. It is impossible for such tactics to inspire the necessary confidence of workers.

In this respect also the lower middle class must not be ignored. This group is not as wedded to the political institutions under which its insecurity has increased as many Socialists are apt to think. More than any particular political process they demand *action*. In all countries that have experienced the depths of the crisis there has been a marked mass movement of the declassed bourgeoisie toward fascism, in spite of the absence of any real economic program in this movement. The support of the lower middle class is, apparently, yielded uncritically to whichever side is clearly on the offensive. But the German Social Democracy was too absorbed with office-holding and conservative trade union activity to go out of its way to organize and educate the declassed bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the lowest strata of the proletariat.

IT may be charitably doubted whether the lesson of the German Social Democracy has been learned. If so, it was not indicated by the majority resolutions at Paris. There was something distressingly pathetic in the words of Otto Wels, late leader of the German party, when he declared at Paris: "We have had to support elections such as Hindenburg's, because otherwise the electoral policy of the Communists would have brought Hitler to the Presidency . . . We were indeed at the mercy of events." In admitting that the Social Democrats had chosen Hindenburg to act as a buffer against Hitler, Wels might have pronounced the bitter irony that within the year Hindenburg chose Hitler as a buffer against socialism. Hitler in the Presidency in 1932 (instead of Hindenburg) could have been no worse than Hitler in the Chancellorship in 1933, and a determined fight of the Social Democracy against both the aged Junker and the Nazi in 1932 would have been of incalculable value for the Social De-

mocracy of the entire world as well as that of Germany, whatever its outcome. The political compromises of reformism and coalition with capitalist parties do not set a fighting proletariat forward. There is nothing but unsocialist fatalism in the suggestion that the *mercy of events* may compel Socialists to relinquish the struggle—and with it their principles. Such a doctrine leads logically to the abandonment of the struggle altogether, since the outcome is thereby set beyond the limits of human control. Otto Wels was not a minority voice in the Paris Congress. The sentimental appeal of a crushed party roused a response so great that it was allowed to retain its maximum strength of forty votes, a representation matched only by that of the equally timorous British Labor Party. It did not matter that only five German delegates attended the Congress and that these five would not return to an organization in Germany but would have to suffer the fate of a defeated émigré group. The spirit of the Congress was one in which critical judgments yielded to condolences. The majority of the delegates should have returned to their countries with the stern lesson that when a party ceases to be dynamic in the revolutionary struggle it loses mass support and is forced to give up the initiative to its bitter enemy—facism.

SOCIALISM was once clear in its thinking on the subject of coalition governments. The case of Millerand in France raised a storm of protest in Socialist circles a generation ago. Krueger spoke in defense of the historic position of socialism on this question at Paris. "It is necessary for us to recognize," he stated, "that, because it is the capitalists who go Fascist, it is impossible for a Socialist Party, maintaining its Socialist principles, to agree to combination with, or toleration of, a Government which is not primarily Socialist in character." Coalition with procapitalist parties is no defense against fascism. The principal Socialist parties of Europe have practiced coalition so long that it may be doubted whether any restorative can now be applied to the fading confidence of the aggressive section of the proletariat.

One cannot read the speeches of the delegates representing the majority view at Paris without realizing the fatal absence of a sharp and insistent distinction between *bourgeois* and *proletarian* democracy. Friedrich Adler in opening the Congress spoke of "those comrades fortunate enough to dwell in the still democratic countries—especially those comrades of Great Britain and Scandinavia." What such Socialists must intend is to call attention to the advantages of living under the civil liberties that are unequally observed in bourgeois democracies as compared with the handicaps that beset those who must struggle and organize under a fascist form of bourgeois dictatorship. If so, no opportunity should be lost in making clear that both fascism and bourgeois democracy are political forms of capitalist dictatorship. Endless confusion arises when this point is not made clear. "We must understand in the terminology of the Socialist movement," said Krueger, "the distinction between capitalist or bourgeois democracy on the one hand and the type of proletarian democracy which it is possible to obtain only within the structure of the Socialist society." There is no need for Socialists to oppose democracy in the abstract (since it never did, and never will, exist), and it is unfair to charge that some of them are against democracy simply because they discard the illusions of bourgeois democracy. It is fanciful to believe that the bourgeoisie developed a political form to enable workers to obtain power with a minimum of difficulty, or that its civil liberties extended to minority groups under pressure and in days of confidence will not be suddenly withdrawn when they are no longer safe for bourgeois rule.

ON the subject of the NRA there was a sharp clash of opinion between Panken and Krueger, the former emphasizing the advantages of the codes and the abolition of child labor, the latter pointing to the fascist perils implicit in the tendencies of the NRA.

Panken despaired utterly of any attempts at a united front with the Communist International, while the majority of the American delegation submitted a proposal for "direct communication to the Comintern suggesting a conference on the question of the international unity of the working class; not merely a manifesto to the press, to be answered by another manifesto." It is not enough to call upon all "peoples" (as the Paris Congress did in its resolutions) to join the International in a struggle against war and fascism; cognizance must be taken of the existing political situation among workers and practical policies must be pursued in a determined and undiscourageable effort to present an undivided proletariat against the terrors of capitalist rule.

The Congress resolution on the use of the League of Nations in an international crisis was apparently drawn by a politically-muddled lawyer; if not, then this suggestion of authorship is a gross calumny for which we apologize. To place any reliance whatever in the judgments of the League would be fatal for workers, who have no interest in deciding between the aggressor and the aggrieved in a war between capitalist states—even though Fascist Germany be involved! Many a middle class pacifist group has dealt more hopefully with the war question than does the resolution of the Paris Congress.

The Socialist Party of America will do well to follow the lead of its dissenting delegation at Paris and let it be known that the ideology and tactics of the L.S.I. will not be countenanced or copied by Socialism on this side of the Atlantic.

Individualism and Socialism

Individualism and Socialism. By Kirby Page. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

HERE are three hundred and fifty pages of closely printed material revealing with thoroughness the inadequacies of individualism in the industrial order and the remedies proposed by socialism.

It is a noteworthy fact that the most conservative among us are conceding that there must be some change in the present economic order. We all admit that while we do not know just where we are going, we are on our way. Kirby Page belongs to that small group who are not contented with our being on our way. He puts before us a map of the country which we must reach, with a description of the routes and the most habitable places therein.

About a third of the book is given to showing up the weaknesses of individualism. Nobody could doubt the completeness of the workmanship here. The other day I heard a critic of Mr. Page say that his criticisms of the present social order reveal personal rascality in those controlling the system rather than faults in the system itself. Why blame capitalism for the faults of the capitalists? The truth is that this book makes horrible revelations of personal wickedness and dense stupidity on the part of the leaders of the capitalism of yesterday. There is no possibility of reading this book through and feeling for them the sympathy which today we are enjoined to have. The evils of the capitalism which Mr. Page describes were such that those caught in its snares were to be pitied, we are told. There is something in this, but it has to be phrased a little differently. We have heard enough of the talk of unwilling and unintentional harm done by the capitalist of the day just passing. The leaders of whom Mr. Page speaks are rascals, and most of them know they are rascals. Now the true picture of capitalism at its best—which was also its worst—is not that of the degradation of unwilling leaders, but one of opportunity for willing rascals to flourish beyond anything possible to green bay trees. It is one of the moral obligations of society to make criminal industry unprofitable. Capitalism, winning social consent as it did, made industries that were essentially criminal both possible and profitable. The social system produced individual crooks.

There is in the industrial sphere such a possibility as that of moral overstrain. The dangling of the large prizes before business competitors was morally ruinous. It does not alter the force of this conclusion to declare that after all few got the prizes. The American ideal of success came to be that of getting one of the large industrial rewards. The stakes were too great for the development of the social conscience, even though the pursuit of the stakes had the approval of society. If we wish to see how far the thought of prizes for individuals has gone we have only to note that today our society as a whole is still reluctant to make any change which would do away with them.

Socialism proposes to cut out the prizes, at least from the industries that seem large social interests. Probably under any system likely to be introduced into America there will be some private capitalism, but it will not have to do with the vaster industries. Taking away the possibilities of the winning of immense prizes will not convert anybody's soul, in the old individualistic sense, but it will take away temptations which have too often proved irresistible. The prizes will go to society itself, since they are created by society.

The book keeps to its path between those who want a social revolution within the next fifteen minutes and those who are looking to some far-off divine event. Just now we are being shouted at by reformers of the glittering eye, and warned by those who tell us that nothing can be done now. Kirby Page recognizes that any social transformation at all complete will have to come in a later generation, but he is sure that much can be done now. The agitator with the fiery eye and the reactionary with the dull eye are about equally maddening to any one who desires to see the social situation made better, though probably the man with the dull eye is the worse. There is in Kirby Page some expression of desire to make life better for those who are to come after us. Usually talk about living and dying with the long look ahead to the future is hypocrisy, concealing the unwillingness to do anything for those who are now here. The only way to help the future is to help the present. If the profit motive —as Mr. Page uses the term—is the cause of our trouble, we can begin now to get at it, cutting it out of some forms of industrial activity altogether and reducing its sphere in others. The city of New York has an excellent water-works system. Here is one spot where private profit has no chance. The book takes up other enterprises which now offer fields for private profit, which can likewise now be brought under a management essentially socialistic.

There is no more idealistic social student in our time than Kirby Page and no one more scientifically realistic. His discussion ought to be convincing to any one at least to this extent: that socialism in America will have to mean at least what he says it will, and will have to come by the steps he indicates. The most radical agitation can issue only in the kind of society he points toward, and the most bone-headed conservative will have to take the next steps he indicates. Page has learned from Lenin that there is a technique of revolution, which means that each particular revolution has to be prepared for, and that communism, fascism, Hitlerism cannot be reproduced anywhere except in circumstances like that which originally called them into being.

What about coercion? Coercion has always been present in human society and always will be. The pacifism of Mr. Page is directed against physical force, or against military compulsion. As long as successive generations of human beings are born and have to develop through childhood to maturity, compulsion of some sort will be a necessity, though the compulsion of physical punishment is out of date in any decent home or school. Society will not wait for measures looking toward larger human welfare till the last human being is persuaded to accept them. The measures will be put into effect. It will be the right of any minority to get them repealed if it can. If we are inclined to protest that all this involves invasion of individual rights, we would do well to turn to the pages of this book which show us how desperately so-called individualism has raided about everything sacred to individuals. I doubt if any socialism now seriously proposed in this country would more directly touch more individuals in more ways than the tariffs of proposed individualist leaders touched us all during the days of high tariff.

I wish Mr. Page had said more about the centralizing coör-

dinating forces which will have to be a part of socialism. Are we to seek for scientific coördination from a center, or are we to have the log-rolling now necessary in legislatures to appropriate public money? The outstanding fault of the NRA is the apparent lack of a head and center. An obstacle to socialism too often overlooked is the inability of masses of people to stand by the decisions of a centralized agency. This obstacle is quite as important as the undeveloped social conscience or the general lack of power to coöperate. There is nothing yet in the social body suggestive of the brain center in the body. A sense of perspective and value in the direction of social energy will call for a training which no social institutions as yet create. No college or university as yet trains students adequately to unify, correlate, and evaluate the power gleaned from acquired knowledge. Socialism will have to train its leaders in this power with practically no guidance from institutions now existing.

FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL

The Liquor Traffic

Toward Liquor Control. By Raymond Fosdick and Albert Scott. Harper Bros. $2.00.

MR. Rockefeller and the two-man commission which studied the problem of liquor control at his request have done the nations real service. There is a danger that with the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment the various states will repeat all the errors of the pre-prohibition era. Dry states will try to maintain their dryness in spite of the obvious futility of such a policy. Other states will establish local option, and some counties will be ostensibly dry and others wet. And the whole effort will be full of hypocrisy and inefficiency.

The Rockefeller report seeks to find a decent alternative to such policies of partial prohibition. Its alternative is state control, or, to speak more accurately, state monopoly of retail liquor traffic. This state monopoly would, according to the plan, embrace all liquors of over 3.2 alcoholic content. The object is to "stifle the profit motive for enlarging liquor sales beyond minimum demands." It would, furthermore, "eliminate the saloon," for the assumption is that all liquor sales would be for "off-premises consumption." In answer to the objection that this would put the government in the liquor business, the report insists that the government is involved willy nilly in the liquor business in some way or other. It is particularly critical of that form of involvement that considers the liquor business a fruitful source of taxes without regard to the problem of socially controlling a dangerous business.

Nothing of more sober sanity in analysis of the perennial problem of liquor has been done in this country than this report. There are both wets and drys who object to the main thesis of the report. But they will not have an easy task to present an alternative to its main conclusions which will be as persuasive and well reasoned as these are. The book deserves serious study by all who are concerned with this vexing problem. It offers the Christian churches an opportunity to work out a creative approach to the liquor problem and to escape their present pathetic tendency to demand "all or nothing" in a day when the "all" is manifestly out of the question and the "nothing," with all of its possibilities of social confusion, is already upon us.

R. N.

Who's Who in This Issue

Paul E. Pfuetze is a leader of the Student Christian Movement.

J. B. Matthews is secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism.

R. E. Shallcross was an observer at the Paris Congress of the Labor and Socialist International.

Francis J. McConnell, former president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, is a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

WE RECOMMEND

What Electricity Costs: a symposium on the cost of distribution to domestic and rural consumers. Edited by Morris Llewellyn Cooke. The New Republic, Inc. $1.00. We refuse to call this brilliant and damning study of utility rates a "mine of information," but it is a dynamo of stirring power, and must be on every oratorical rostrum where speeches on social control or socialism are offered.

The American Federation of Labor, History, Policies and Prospects. By Lewis L. Lorwin. The Brookings Institution. $2.75. In the detached though far from dull manner of Dr. Lorwin's previous works, he has here set out the rise, decline, and challenging future, with its opportunities for usefulness and failure, of our Tory labor body.

War Makes Hard Times. By Clair Wilcox. Peace Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. Single Copies free; $1.00 per hundred copies. Professor Wilcox has written this informative and convincing pamphlet to fill the long-existent need for a succinct, economically sound presentation of the close relationship between war and economic stress. Excellent anti-war propaganda.

CORRESPONDENCE

In Support of the United Front

I WANT to object strenuously to the conclusions of the article by Kirby Page on the United States Congress Against War and Fascism and its forward-looking follow-up program.

Every reader of THE WORLD TOMORROW ought to know by this time what the Communist Party stands for and what tactics it employs. The question is: Can Communists and non-Communists work together on a specific program such as opposition to imperialist war? The Communists believe that in the competitive struggle between various participating groups in the united front they will persuade the non-Communists that their position and tactics are sound and should be adopted. Should thoroughgoing pacifists believe less about their program and tactics and go into the united front with any less machiavellian purposes, if any one care to brand them in such a fashion?

I fear that the real objection to the united front with the Communists is grounded in a desire to preserve a static simon-pure pacifism which is so concerned about the quality of the means, that it allows—in practice—the ends to be forgotten. Our problem is to stop war and, in the long run, to prevent wars. The way to stop war is for the working class to sabotage it. The way to prevent wars in the long run is to destroy capitalism. One very good way of assisting capitalism's destruction is to sabotage one of its chief symptoms, namely, war. It is one process.

Baltimore, Md. FRANCIS A. HENSON

From National Unemployed League

A WORKERS' SCHOOL is being established in a ten-room building which has just been opened in Columbus, Ohio, as the labor center for the unemployed. The National Unemployed League, the Ohio Unemployed League, and the office of the Franklin County League are all to be situated in this building, at 214 East Rich Street.

Along with field activities, such as relief strikes, eviction fights, demonstrations, adjusting of grievances, and many other problems, the unemployed are asking for educational classes from the labor point of view. There will be classes in economics, history, sociology, labor history, trade unionism, economic geography, current events, English, public speaking, Marxism, labor dramatics, and training for song leaders, as well as a leisure time class in art, especially for children of the unemployed, and a work shop for maps, charts and posters to be made by the students in an effort to promote visual education.

Local friends and sympathizers are donating chairs, desks, and other furnishings. But books, newspapers and magazines are difficult to get. We ask your readers to help us in this enterprise by contributing any books they may have to build up a workers' library, or by donating whatever they can toward a book fund. Labor papers and magazines will be greatly appreciated. A typewriter would be of great assistance also. We hope for an enthusiastic response to aid us in this much-needed work.

Columbus, Ohio ARNOLD JOHNSON,
Director Organization, Ohio Unemployed League
National Secretary, Nat'l Unemployed League

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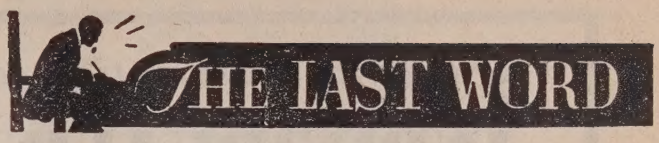

WHAT happens in New York is ordinarily of much less importance than the inhabitants of that provincial village often think. But what occurred there on election day was, it seems to this meddlesome commentator, of deep national significance. I don't mean merely the choice of the unreliable Fiorello as mayor, nor even the welcome defeat of Tammany. If the signals announcing the outcome of the balloting had been flashed to my utter satisfaction, from the *Times* Tower would have stretched a dull blue streak of light up to Columbia University and into the study of Professor Raymond Moley.

After his inept work in the State Department, his share in the wreckage of the World Economic Conference, and his public eagerness to offer paid pronunciamentos on subjects far too complex for such a simple-minded outfit as a brain trust, Mr. Moley has been catapulted straight into the yearning arms of no less a statesman than Mr. Vincent Astor. As a political donor, Mr. Astor ranks high; but as a thinker he is a fairly good yachtsman. His unimpressive paper, *Today,* already several laps behind yesterday in point of view, came out with a wringing (no typo) editorial signed by the pontifical Moley, assuring the People that the election of Joseph McKee as mayor would be a sign that New York was stoutly supporting the Administration. Mr. Farley's name, which has become as familiar to the masses as halitosis and for much the same reason, was not once openly mentioned; yet as Mr. Moley stated: "This campaign is a portent in the political scene. The presence of many friends of President Roosevelt in the campaign, the loyalty with which McKee has always supported Governor and now President Roosevelt, the deep friendship between [Boss] Flynn and the President, make it perfectly clear that while President Roosevelt has properly refrained from any support of McKee in this campaign [Administration jargon for "has entered the campaign with discretion but nevertheless all over"] there is no question about the interpretation that will be put by the public upon a victory by McKee." The people weren't as bright as they could have been, for Charles Solomon as mayor would have been head, shoulders, and hoofs above LaGuardia; but they did at least as much as say to Washington: "Mind your own business. That goes for Moley, Farley, Roosevelt." And although I cannot share in the current sniping at the Administration that is emanating from Tory die-hards, I can think of few statements that more emphatically needed to be made. Possibly now even the aspiring Postmaster General may realize that it will take more than patronage, articles in the *American Magazine,* glad-handing and an inside track to the Democratic machine in the Empire State to get himself elected president in 1940.

WELL, the zealous proponents of whatever it was that McKee would have done for New York can console themselves with the reflection that if heaven meant them to be defeated, it was all for their own good. This comforting thought has often led me to believe that *if* is not only the biggest but the most convincing word in the English language. I've always wondered whether Kipling could have been free from crossed fingers when he wrote his famous lines. *If* you can so-and-so, you'll be a man, my son. To which the brilliant younger generation properly replied, "Oh, yeah?" Pope Pius recently told a delegation of 450 unemployed that "if the Divine Providence caused you to be deprived of work, He did it for your own good." I confess that the conventional view of God as a fond father wielding a celestial hairbrush has never attracted me. But it is a smooth way to handle the problems of this world. *If* you're one of the unlucky four in five, rejoice; you're simply out of luck. For that matter, *if* you agree with me that this department could be improved, remember, after all, that this cross, too, is only for your own well-being. . . . What's that you say?

Eccentricus ■

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INDIVIDUALISM and SOCIALISM

By KIRBY PAGE

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From the Author's Foreword

OUT-of-their-own-mouths is the method frequently used in these pages. In numerous instances I have summoned witnesses to tell their own story. This procedure is followed, in spite of the irritating effect of endless quotations, because the reader is more likely to be interested in these first-hand testimonies and in the conclusions of specialists in various fields than in a mere expression of my personal opinions.

Factual data abound herein because I have assumed that the general reader does not have easy access to relevant sources, or lacks time to make the required research. It is hoped that teachers, clergymen, and other educators will find this volume a convenient source-book and handy reference work.

The World Tomorrow,
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